1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

237 [283] Naa, ten ŧari ol-mŧut, il-lenyok eitauni pe eripye 'n-doiye 'musetani oo 'l-tureah.

If a giraffe is killed, only the long hairs of the tail are preserved. The girls use these as thread to sew the beads on to their clothes.

Naa, ten ŧari o-sirua, naa 'n-gĭnda eitauni, p' eĭnyeki 'n-gishu.

Should an eland be killed, strips of the hide are taken and made into thongs for fastening the cattle with.

[292] Naa, ten ŧari e-sidai, naa 'l-ŏpir eitauni pe epika 'l-muran ten epwo en-jore. Nepika aii 'l-ayok ten emurati.

When an ostrich is killed, the feathers are made into head-dresses, which are worn by the warriors when they go to war. Boys also wear ostrich feathers when they are circumcised.

[292] Naa, ten ŧari ol-ĝatuny, naa ol-chŏni lenye eitauni p' eitaa 'l-muran en-dŏki naji ol-ĝatuny, naata 'l-papit adoru, nepik il-lughuny ten epwo en-jore.

Whenever a lion is killed, the hide is taken, and the warriors make a head-dress out of the mane. They wear this when they go to war.

[293] Naa, ten ŧari o-engat, neitauni ol-kidoĝui, p' eitaa 'l-mŏruak ol-lenywa.

If a wildebeest is killed, the tail is kept, and the elders make their fans from it.

[534] Naa, ten ŧari ol-maalo, neitauni 'mŏwarak, nasoshi te-'n-aidura pe meimin ol-orera.

Should a greater kudu be killed, the horns are preserved and blown when people move their kraals, so that nobody shall lose the way.

[911] Naa, ten ŧari aii e-muny, neitauni e-mŏto negwetanyeki 'l-kumaa ooidoĝyeki 'l-orei oo 'l-oilgok. Neitái aii 'l-kumaa loo-'l-aigwenak.

Lastly, if a rhinoceros is killed, its horn is taken and carved into clubs, which are used for beating the he-goats and bulls with. The counsellors' clubs are also made of rhinoceros horn.

Lello-shaĝgit entaye 'l-Maasna en-gisa.

These are the wild animals of which the Masai make use.

224 Naa, ten enya ol-ŏwaru 'n-gishu arukí 'n-daru, pe eshi il-Maasna, ntwe, aana ĝjo: 'Eiuna in-gishu shig.' Ore 'l-ŏwarak enimna in-gishu oo 'n-daru, ol-ĝatuny, o ol-kuri, o ol-ĝopijina, o en-darash.

A Masai will also kill a beast of prey if he sees it eating cattle or goats, for he says: 'It has eaten our cattle.' The beasts of prey which eat cattle and goats are lions, leopards, hyænas, and jackals.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

whose warlike qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and ivory are got from the Dorobo. Ivory was used in the old days for trading with the Swahili caravans for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade outside Masailand is conducted mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unharmed from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

Though the Masai do not hunt habitually, and despise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals—elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, ostriches for their feathers, and lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Labour

Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, "too proud to work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1908; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

The agricultural Masai, the I-Loitpua (Loitbwa) and Il-Okiep of former days, are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat, were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing earned the lasting contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of Il-Okiep have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Gogo early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Fischer in 1882 reported groups of "Wakwavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau; at Ndawerioni (Ndaro orian), 15 miles south-west of Naivasha; in the region known as Ngurumun (in-kurman, "the farms") for about 30 miles north of Lake Natron; at the southern foot of Mt. Meru; and at Kahe.[1] Von Höhnel adds Ndawkero, 20 miles north-west of Lake Natron.[2] Another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel[3] at Taveta; while the map in Hollis's *The Masai* shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Manyara. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or En-jemusi (Njemps) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

With the exception of the Taveta group, the agricultural Masai in general resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Taveta have mingled with the Taveta,[4] and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Teleki grew mainly ebunzine and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

[1] *Zeit. Gesell. Erdk.*, 1885, map at end.
[2] *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 9.
[3] *Through Masai Land*, chap. III; *Discovery, etc.*, II, pp. 8, 9.
[4] Called by the Masai *il Tuperia*, sing. *el Tuperia*.

[Warrior Kraal]

/91 cont./ A few intrepid warriors also leave the kraal, spear in hand, in order to attack the lion, but as a rule soon return unsuccessful.

If peace has lasted for a couple of months, the warriors long for war and, becoming more and more violent, express their wish to the speaker (oi aigwenani). The warriors of a few neighboring kraals have already /92/ promised their participation and have also pressed their speakers, who then all together go to the oi aunoni with whose consent the war becomes a settled matter, for the waging of which only the permission of the oi oibon is still lacking. The consultations and decisions for undertaking a war expedition, however, do not always proceed so smoothly, and they are most heated when they have for a subject the repetition of an expedition that has already ended one or several times with a defeat for the Masai. Naturally then the opinions about the success of the expedition are greatly divided, and the speakers and leaders often have great difficulty gaining a majority for the undertaking (1).

1. In an extreme case -- if, for example, the war is urgent on economic-political grounds, because the opponent threatens to become so powerful that he will be a serious danger to the Masai themselves or a competitor to them in the plundering of other tribes -- the oi aunoni or one of the speakers lets himself be carried away to secure a majority for the war by calling the vacillating ones oi kunono, that is, blacksmiths. He always achieves the desired result with this, but in the following days may leave his hut only under the protection of influential warriors, in order to avoid assaults on the part of the reviled ones.

If they have finally succeeded, however, the leaders of the majority make an end to further debate by invoking the en dorobi, a sort of Rütli oath. /Rütli, a meadow in Switzerland where the first league of the three cantons was formed in 1307./ Then every warrior of the kraals concerned has to put on immediately the visible sign of the

/133 cont./

714
411
178

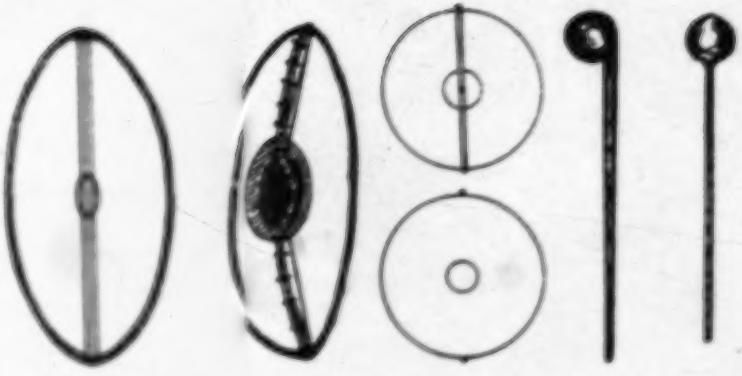

Fig. 34a. Present shield-form (1/30).

Fig. 34b. Old shield-form (1/10).

Fig. 35. (1/10).

411

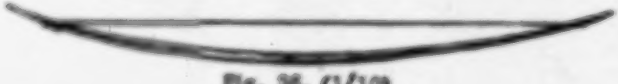

Fig. 36. (1/10)

Spear, sword, shild, and club are the weapons of the warriors. [887] [714] Old people never carr the shield, rarely a small, to some extent cast-off spear, or an old sword, but for the most part only club and bow with arrows. The need bows and poisoned arrows for the defense of their own kral or against predatory animals. The Masai impoverished through cattle epidemics, who live apart from the [184] [224] [illegible] call themselves el dombo, also hunt game with them. The bows (Fig. 36) are two-shanked, simply curved.

/175 cont./

136 [262] [224] Since the Masai do not eat game meat and hence do not pursue game in any way, it is usually very tame in the vicinity of the kraals and often grazes along with the cattle. The author saw an unforgettably beautiful scene in mid-1897 in the circular valley of Ngoeongoro, where large herds of gnus and zebras, as well as Grant's and Thomson's gazelles, were grazing quietly and without any trace of fear beside and among the cattle herds of the Masai.

192 234 From the extensive nomenclature for the livestock, only the most important words are given here:

é giachu, cattle in general;

ol oldoni (el oldok) or (very rarely) ol mógira, bull;

oi geted (el modi), ox;

ed geted (é giachu), cow;

eá geted naigano nabo, cow that has calved once;

eá geted natchich are, cow that has calved twice;

eá geted 'lebon, cow that has calved a number of times;

eá geted olobí, sterile cow;

ol gedari (el gedari), small calf in general, which stays near the kraal;

ol medimí (el medimí), older calf that is pastured farther away;

ol oram (el oramí), older calf that grazes in the vicinity of the large livestock;

ol bulai (el bulaibug), male calf;

ol aschu or ol ahu (el aschu, el ahu), male calf;

en dáiu (en dáiuu), female calf;

eág aschu (ág aschu), female calf;

os sigiria (es sirgus), donkey in general;

ol ammá (el ammáchi), male donkey;

/176/ os sigiria oldoi (es oldoiu), castrated male donkey;

es sigiria (es sirgus), female donkey;

es sigiria naigano nabo, female donkey that has foaled once;

es sigiria olobok, female donkey that has foaled several times;

ol gurari (el gurarumi), male donkey foal;

eb gurari (é gurarumi), female donkey foal;

os olkima (es olkimas), full-grown male head of small livestock;

*136 the western form was found at Lake Natron, it seemingly
• [224] has been replaced by immigrants from the east. At the
[698] time of their visit the land to the south-east of Lake Natron was a German game reserve from which the Masai had been excluded. I have flown over that area and even today, after fifty years of Masai over-use, it appears perfectly feasible as a route of passage for large antelope, at least in the wet season.

Percival (1928) notes that an occasional old bull will "come up" -- presumably to the Nairobi area -- from the Rift near Lake Magadi, which is adjacent to the area mapped by Roosevelt and Heller.

To my knowledge, none of the Roosevelt and Heller party visited the Lake Natron area. The map must have been drawn from second hand reports representing the best sources of information available at the time. It seems probable, then, that the wildebeests in the Rift near Lake Natron were then what they are now, representatives of the eastern race.

If this were so, although the Rift well precluded movement west, why did these wildebeests not move further north to proceed the Rift between the Natron area and the vicinity of Mt. Suswa to the, waterless, forbidding

to most kinds of life, and certainly a barrier to normal wildebeest movements. If this area were less dessicated in previous times, it probably would have been the only point of contact between the eastern and western races of wildebeest. The Roosevelt collections from the Sunna area, however, would indicate that there had not been significant mixing of the races there, implying that any recent contact would have been on a small scale and any significant connection had been in the far past.

No wildebeests remain in the northern area of the Rift. There are fenced ranches now south of Lake Naivasha and in the Rift adjoining the Sunna area. The remaining wild animals (hartebeests, gazelles, etc.) are hunted on some of these ranches as food for labor. It appears that after the former wildebeest population of this area became isolated from the populations farther east (through Masai overgrazing in the Mweiga area) it was gradually hunted out. Hartebeests and Thomson's gazelles are still found in this area.

Summary

Nyeusiland is centrally located in the system of grassland belts of Africa. The grassland ecosystems of Nyeusiland are typical of the most biologically productive

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Kenya border. The only significant area lost by the Masai was the Maru Kopjes area. This was used occasionally during the dry seasons because of the springs and good grazing found there. By about 1956, however, the last spring appeared to have dried up because of destruction of the vegetation by the Masai.

The status of the Masai in Narok District has remained relatively constant compared with that of the Tanganyika Masai to the south. Since 1911 the only changes have been slight enlargements of the area and fluctuations in the land infested with tsetse fly.

The part of Western Masailand immediately to the north of the Serengeti National Park and east of the Mara Escarpment (Fig. 3) is Kenya's finest game area. Following the Second World War part of this area, the triangle formed by the Mara River, the Mara Escarpment, and the Tanganyika border, was made a National Reserve. This action protected the area from hunting but did not affect the Masai. In 1961, due largely to the efforts of Major Temple-Bolton, Senior Game Warden of the area, and Mr. C. Dentan, District Commissioner of Narok, an agreement was made between the Narok District African District Council and the Kenya Government to establish a Masai Mara Game Reserve. The reserve covers some 700

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

FL12
• 228
642
65

square miles adjoining the Serengeti National Park and including the Mara Triangle. The African District Council has appointed a warden and subsidiary staff to the area, and has passed by-laws for its management including control of hunting and grazing. A section of the reserve of roughly 250 square miles adjoining the Serengeti National Park has been set aside as a Game Reserve Developed Area in which no grazing nor entry is allowed except by permit of the warden. With Government help they have built roads and a lodge, and the proceeds from visitors' fees go to the Masai. This is, in effect, a true national park run on a local basis by the Masai.

warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

Originally during the period of warriorhood the moipanl were not expected to do any work except fight. They lived in a separate village, called a manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reported to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

Cattle were hunted to obtain feathers for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the warrior was expected to shoot his spear at a lion. The dramatic moran lion hunts are famous (Dineen, 1962). At present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious result is a large body of young men with absolutely nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what could be the most energetic period of their lives. They have the liveliest wits, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the morani than they did

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated several minor wars when we were there, and administrative action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants. Some there are still blood, and the wounds have been bleeding their spears on a variety of other animals, most notably citizens.

Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these older age grades each span a period of about 15 years (Brown, 1957).

Periodically the administration has tried to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Kenyalang but it is much less popular than previously.

When a warrior becomes circumcised he may take his mother with him to the warriors' kampong, so he may leave her home at apparently even stay home himself.

every opportunity. Once the purpose is primarily to clear new planting land. During the 20 months of one major study period, an area in eight of the ten forest (at the foot of the Bas Escarpment) at least twice a month, often in the rainy, and only once did we not see smoke from a fire burning in the areas at least.

Relations with Wildlife

The most significant influence the Basaj have exerted upon the wildlife is their protection through excluding hunting tribes from Kusaland. The Gundrunko are an exception, but these are relatively so few Gundrunko that they have little effect. The areas of East Africa where the finest concentrations of grassland wildlife still exist are those in Kusaland.

The wildlife Basaj hunt or have hunted include buffalo for wildlife and possibly food, eland for food and the kongoni and tsessebe for food and skins, and small game (especially hares) for food. Elephants are hunted for ivory, and sometimes leopard for defense and for their skins, and chimpanzees for teeth and to spite national park authorities (particularly in the past decade). In times of drought the Basaj may spear various animals for defense or to avoid competition for scarce water. They will even spear elephants at such times (Grant, 1960).

A213
A134
A136

Great crocks and young Geese may grow any growing animal, possibly to test their skill, but this probably involves relatively few animals in total. It does affect the animals' reactions to the Great. A Great driving cattle incessantly, even one may, is apparently continually ignored by most wild animals. We watched one Great drive a lone cow through a herd of 200 wildebeests and two zebras. The herd edged about like at a distance of 20 to 40 yards, and for about a mile he appeared almost a part of the herd, all moving along at about two to three miles per hour. No other wild animals grazing in close proximity to Great Ilmenites and herders. A lone Great with a spear and no livestock is something else again, and most wildlife will stay nearly 100 yards away from such a person.

187 Great boys play a game "hunting" wild animals. They may be taken young of various species and watch the ones in the same manner as they would their cattle. Later, after observing the same mature animal they say that it is "my animal." We captured a wildebeest with matured ears in Ngorongoro Crater and a nearby Great said that is one his wildebeest so he had cut the animal's ears when it was a calf.

570 092 We raised above Great may be small wildebeests

*134 In aggregate, the animals killed by the above factors -- predation, disease and accidents -- do not come near the numbers of animals that are born into the ungulate population. There must, therefore, be some other limiting factors. In the case of the wildebeests, the age structure of the population (Fig. 48) shows that the greatest mortality is in the calf population during the first few months of life. The mortality here is caused primarily by cows becoming separated from their calves in the milling-about of large herds. This is a function of herd size, the larger the herd the greater the loss of calves. The size of herd is influenced by a complex of environmental conditions, described in detail in Talbot and Talbot, 1963b. Thus, the primary limiting factor in the wildebeest population appears to be environmental, acting through herd size.

It would appear that with other species also, the effective limiting factors involve environmental controls of one kind or another, or, in effect, the carrying capacity of the grassland ecosystem. This is not necessarily a self-regulating system, however. The balance that formerly existed included native hunting. This now has been largely stopped. One result of this protection has been the increase in giraffes. In the

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 309

#136 Mara giraffes have been effectively protected for about
#13 15 years. According to personal accounts, they have increased greatly in numbers. The appearance of the vegetation confirms this belief. The trees preferred by the giraffes have a grazing line about 20 feet up. Virtually no green leaves exist below the line, although there are many dead or leafless limbs lower, indicating that in the recent past leaves did grow lower. Almost no reproduction of the preferred trees can be found.

#136
178
• 224 Elephants are another example of a species formerly limited by hunting, and increasing with that cause of mortality removed. They have been protected along the Mara River since about 1900, and by 1918 the increase in their numbers was notable (Kenya Game Dept., 1918). This increase has continued. It is due in part to natural increase within the area, and part to immigration from outside areas where hunting is allowed.
#[137] Tree destruction by elephants is significant in the area and was obviously increasing.

An increase in the populations of giraffes and elephants is readily apparent because of their obvious impact on the landscape. Such increases on the part of other smaller ungulates would be much harder to detect without periodic accurate censuses. There has only